CHAPTER 13. BEADS AND OTHER ADORNMENT

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In this chapter we take the measure of the beads and other personal adornment recovered in association with skeletal remains. We begin with a profile of the burials with adornment, and then consider where and how the items were acquired. Each of the assemblages inventoried in the chapter—beads, cowries, rings and other jewelry—is then described in detail. Information is provided about recovery, condition and treatment, chain of custody, methods of analysis, and where relevant, descriptive typologies and findings about manufacture, origin, and age.

13.A. A profile of burials with personal adornment

With the exception of a handful of cowries and a piece of amber, the adornment from the African Burial Ground consisted of factory-made goods. The beads, buttons, cuff links, finger rings, and other ornaments found with the deceased would have been priced modestly in their day. The prominence of copper alloy and simple monochrome glass places the assemblages at the lower end of the ready-to-wear jewelry market. Business in this sector was brisk when the African Burial Ground was open: the supply of inexpensive jewelry increased in volume and variety in every major colonial American city during the 1700s, as did the supply of jewelry crafted with precious metals and stones (see Fales 1995:63-78). London imports and locally-made merchandise were advertised in the weekly press, typically with the enthusiastic but perfunctory prose Manhattan silversmith Daniel Fueter used: "Articles too numerous to mention, all extremely Cheap" (*New-York Gazette or the Weekly Post-Boy*, March 10, 1763; for Manhattan jewelry advertisements, see Gottesman 1938:29-83).

Very little of this ever-expanding stock in trade found its way to the graves of Manhattan's African workers. Adults were interred with personal adornment during all periods of the African Burial Ground's archaeologically documented use, as were infants and young children. Still, burials with adornment are uncommon—they are the anomaly, not the norm. Only twenty-five individuals, some 6.7% of the excavated burials, were directly associated with adornment. Among them are two infants, two young children, nine women, eleven men, and one probable adult of undetermined sex and age. Another five individuals had tenuous links to adornment. Table 13.1 summarizes the particulars; problematic cases are marked with an asterisk.

¹ The total used here is 376 burials, a count that includes burials for which, at a minimum, the presence/absence of a coffin and *in situ* skeletal remains could be determined clearly. The most highly disturbed burials are not included.

| Table 13.1. | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--------------------|-------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Burial | Burials with personal adornment Age Sex Group Items | | Location in grave | | | | |
| 6 | (years) 25 - 30 | male? ² | late | 8 buttons (5 copper alloy, 2 w/ anchor motif; portions of 3 pewter) | 4 copper alloy along torso, 1 at sacrum; pewter at sacrum | | |
| 10 | 40 - 45 | male | lmid | 13 copper-alloy buttons (8 whole; 5 w/ shanks only) | 1 on torso, 1 on right foot; shanks at lower right leg | | |
| 71 | 25 - 35 | female | late | ring | On third finger of right hand | | |
| 107 | 35 - 40 | female | lmid | bead | Found during laboratory cleaning of cranium, near ear | | |
| 115 | 25 - 35 | female | mid | ring | On the third finger of the left hand | | |
| 158 | 20 - 30 | male | late | 2 pairs gilt copper-alloy cuff links, round shape ³ | At wrists | | |
| 181 | 20 - 23 | male | late | 7 buttons (3 copper alloy; 4 copper-alloy-and-bone w/ impressed design); cuff links (missing from lab) | 6 buttons on pelvic area, 1 found during skeletal cleaning; cuff links not provenienced) | | |
| 186 | 0 - 0.17 | | late | glass and wire ornament | On the cranium | | |
| 187 | 1.5 - 4 | | late | beads (22) | 12 found beneath pelvic area, 10 while screening soil | | |
| 211 | adult | male? | late | 1 turquoise enamel cuff link face | On the right clavicle, adjacent to the chin | | |
| 226 | 0 - 0.17 | | early | beads (8) | At throat (beneath mandible) | | |
| 238 | 40 - 50 | male | lmid | 2 pairs octagonal-shaped copper-alloy cuff links | At wrists | | |
| 242 | 40 - 50 | female | late | paste ring | On the middle finger of the right hand | | |
| 250 | adult | undeter- mined | early | bead | Central part of coffin interior, possibly near pelvis | | |
| 254 | 3.5 - 5.5 | | mid | cast silver pendant | Found during laboratory cleaning below mandible | | |
| 259 | 17 - 19 | female? | late | 18 buttons (11 copper alloy, 2 wood, 5 shanks) | 4 at each knee, 3 in pelvic area; 2 at ribs; 5 shanks on vertebrae and pelvis | | |
| 310 | 44 - 52 | female | mid | paste ring | Found during laboratory cleaning of left hand | | |
| 325 | 25 - 35 | male | late | 1 gilt copper alloy button Left upper sacrum | | | |
| 326 | 45 - 55 | male | mid | 4 copper alloy domed buttons | In pelvic area and between tops of femurs, near the hands | | |
| *332 | 35 - 40 | male? | lmid | curved copper alloy object (possible earring) Found during laborator cleaning; attached to co wood near thoracic ver | | | |
| 340 | 39.3 - 64.4 | female | early | beads (112) strung with cowries (7) Around hips and right with | | | |

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² A "?" indicates that the assignment is probable.

³ A "pair" of cuff links—two faces linked together—fastened a sleeve. A single cuff link face was insufficient; a single face is half a pair.

| | Table 13.1. | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------------------|-------|--|---|--|--|--|
| | Burials with personal adornment Purial Age Say Crown I toms I section in grave | | | | | | | |
| Burial | (years) | Sex Group Items | | Items | Location in grave | | | |
| 341 | adult | male | mid | 1 pair octagonal-shaped copper-alloy cuff links | At left radius | | | |
| 371 | 25 - 35 | female | mid | 2 turquoise enamel cuff link faces w/ motif | Beneath the left humerus | | | |
| 377 | 33 - 58 | female | lmid | 3 copper-alloy rings (missing from lab) | At throat | | | |
| *387 | 34 - 44 | male | early | cuff link or button fragment | Provenience unknown | | | |
| 392 | 42.5 - 52.5 | male | lmid | 2 octagonal copper-alloy cuff link faces | 1 at right clavicle, 1 at cervical vertebrae | | | |
| *398 | 25 - 35 | undeter- mined | mid | 1 octagonal cuff link face; 1 ring | In disturbed deposit; association with burial unclear | | | |
| 415 | 35 - 55 | male | mid | 13 copper alloy domed buttons (14 recorded in field) | 4 at each knee, 2 at each upper femur, 2 at sacrum. | | | |
| *428 | 40 - 70 | female | mid | beads (2) | Unknown; found during screening of grave fill soil. | | | |
| *434 | undeter- mined | undeter- mined | mid | bead | Found in soil to west of bones. | | | |

It may seem unusual that so few of the dead were adorned when many of the living seem to have embellished themselves in small but memorable ways. Historians who have studied fugitive slave advertisements published during the 18th century call attention to scores of city dwellers accessorized with panache. Earrings, bracelets, and buckles added a finishing touch to the clothing Africans wore in Manhattan, Philadelphia, and Charleston; buttons gussied up hats. Hair, perhaps the most personal and distinctive adornment of all, was sculpted, plaited, tufted, and queued. Less frequently noted, but not out of place in an era of peruke-wearing men, were wigs and toupees (White 1991:185-206; Smith and Wojtowicz 1989; Windley 1983; White and White 1995b).

Yet whether adornment was more widespread among the living than among the dead is unclear. Mentioned in the advertisements are items that would not have survived at the African Burial Ground, including handkerchiefs, ribbons, lacing, and fabric bands. The disparity is formidable. Roughly a third of the adornment recorded in the list (Table 12.3) of Africans who escaped from New York City households between 1732 and 1783 was made with perishable material, and rarely did a person have adornment of more than one type.⁴

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⁴ None of the women did. Seven of the ten adornment-wearing women listed in Table 12.3 had "perishable only" items, as did ten of the forty-two adornment-wearing men. Three women and twenty-five men had "durable only" adornment. Seven men had a mix of durable and perishable goods. Not all advertisements included descriptions of the clothing and jewelry black city residents wore and took with them when they fled from bondage. Table 12.3 is limited to advertisements that describe clothing and jewelry. It thus represents a subset of the advertisements published in 18th century New York newspapers.

Missing from the advertisements, however, are the adornment worlds of the very young and the middle-aged. Africans who fled from Manhattan households typically were in their late teens and their twenties (White 1991:122-124), a pattern illustrated in Table 12.3. Only 3 of the 205 entries feature infants and young children: an eight-month-old child and its mother escaped in the autumn of 1759; a five-to-six-year-old girl headed into the city's Revolutionary War-torn streets in August 1783, as did a little boy. The little boy's fustian trousers had buttons all down the sides but neither the infant nor the girl appears to have had an adornment to their names. The upper end of the life cycle is better represented than the lower end but not appreciably so. Decorations are scarce in this cohort as well: just one of the eight adults with "about 40" or more years of age had adornment, a man named Tom whose new shoes were fastened with buckles. Most of the individuals listed in the roster had no adornment of any kind, and thus were not unlike their deceased neighbors and kin.

Even so, there is little reason to suppose that burials with adornment held people who were more beloved or better off economically than their contemporaries. It is true that the African Burial Ground served many people for whom the cost of small luxuries was dear. It is also true that the possessions of the poor seldom stayed in place for long. Objects owned by the poor "[migrate] under the pressure of debt" (Stallybrass 1998:196-199). In colonial Manhattan's African community adornment migrated for still another reason: individuals on the run reconfigured their accessories for expediency and disguise. Pompey no longer had earrings when he fled from bondage in 1763; Claus absconded in 1757 with a bundle of things, including a flowered stuff waistcoat lined with shalloon and likely fastened with decorative buttons. But adornment wearing is a matter of inclination as well as circumstance. Not everyone chooses to wear adornment, even in communities where people and possessions are less likely to roam.

The types of adornment from the burial ground were narrow in range. For instance, decorations for the feet come up short when the cemetery population is compared to the African public at large. By the 1750s Africans in colonial Manhattan were wearing shoes fastened with buckles of brass, silver, steel, pewter, and stone, a reference to crystal, or perhaps to paste, metal jewelry with glass insets held by a "bezel," in the form of a groove or a flange. Bits of leather and fragments of metal that hint of footwear were not recovered in the field or the laboratory. The reasonable inference is that shoes were held back from the grave.

Decorations for the head come up short, too, but headwear typically took the form of perishable hairstyles and perishable hats with ribbons and bands. Consequently, neither the decisions nor the decision makers are etched sharply enough to discern where community-wide sensibilities bumped up against individual tastes. Some hairstyles may have harbored durable items like the glass bead from Burial 107. Prior to interment the hair of the deceased may have been dressed and groomed (for representations of hair and

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⁵ Archaeologist Barbara J. Heath (1999) examines how "small luxuries" were acquired. We use the phrase here and in 13.B consider the question she poses. Own-account economic activities are discussed in the African Burial Ground History Report (Medford 2004:119-121).

hats in African art, a key source of knowledge about African adornment in the past, see Seiber and Harriman 2000).

Although the adornment from the cemetery was not as varied as the adornment seen on Manhattan streets, its expressive sweep was arguably the same. If adornment can be likened to a language, a system of symbolic communication akin to speech, then it spoke in a babble of tongues during the period when the African Burial Ground was in use. It conveyed considerable information as well, from evocations of a remembered Africa to subtle mockery of European pretensions (see White 1991:196-199). This communicative intricacy reflected the complexity of the city. Colonial Manhattan was a crossroads on the commercial map and its shops and homes had an international cast. After 1703, newcomers outnumbered the native born and no particular nationality, ethnicity, or religion held sway (Butler 2000:9). As the century progressed, members of the black community hailed from an ever-widening swath of a continent that hundreds of African societies called home.

Two notes on terminology may be of help before moving on to the individual profiles. "Button" is used more restrictively than in Chapter 12. Here it refers to decorative buttons recovered alone (Burial 325) and *en masse* (Burials 6, 10, 259, 326, and 415). Plain, serviceable buttons may have spruced up a collar or personalized a cuff, or perhaps dangled from a string at the neck or the wrist. Burials with plain buttons are not included in the adornment profile because any aesthetic value these buttons held for their wearers is not apparent from the grave.

Second, "personal adornment" and "personal decoration" are used interchangeably though only the latter was a commonplace phrase three hundred years ago. "Jewelry" and "ornament" stand in as well. The qualifier "personal" is sometimes omitted but always implied because it best describes the domain in which the items belong. A consideration of the formidable gear attached to a necklace recovered from another African Diaspora cemetery of the period may clarify the distinction we seek to make. The necklace from Burial 72 at Newton Plantation, Barbados, held one large agate, seven cowries, fourteen glass beads, twenty-one dog canines, and five vertebrae from a bony fish—an array linked to the practice of divination (see Handler 1997 and Handler and Lange 1978:125-130). There are no counterparts to that necklace at the African Burial Ground (compare LaRoche 1994b:12). Adornment worn for personal pleasure is by no means culturally insignificant, however. As we explain in the discussion that follows the profiles, the adornments from lower Manhattan connected their wearers both to the wider African community and to the constraints and possibilities of the times.

Infants and young children with personal adornment

Eight opaque yellow beads characteristic of African manufacture were found at the throat of the infant in Burial 226 (Bead Type 14; see Figure 5.3).⁶ The infant had its own coffin

⁶ The characteristics of each Bead Type are summarized in Table 13.3. Illustrations of beads from each type follow the table.

but shared the grave of an adult man. The grave is placed in the Early Group of excavated burials (see Chapter 6).

Twenty-two black beads, drawn and cut from glass made in Europe, encircled the hips of the one-and-a-half-to-four-year-old child in Burial 187 (Bead Type 6). This child's grave was in the northern part of the cemetery and is assigned to the Late Group, post 1776. The grave appears to have been placed next to or between the graves of adults (see Chapter 9).

A cast silver pendant that may have been attached to a string and worn as a necklace was found with Burial 254, a Middle Group interment that held a child between three-and-a-half and five-and-a-half years old.⁷ The pendant, which rested at the child's neck, was recovered in the laboratory during the cleaning of the skeletal remains. Burial 254 was directly beneath the coffin of another young child of less than two years of age; the two youngsters appear to have been placed together in an area crowded with burials.

A glass and wire filigree ornament was found on the cranium of the infant in Burial 186, a Late Group interment. Although seemingly aligned with adult burials to the north, Burial 186 is one of a handful of spatially isolated infant burials.

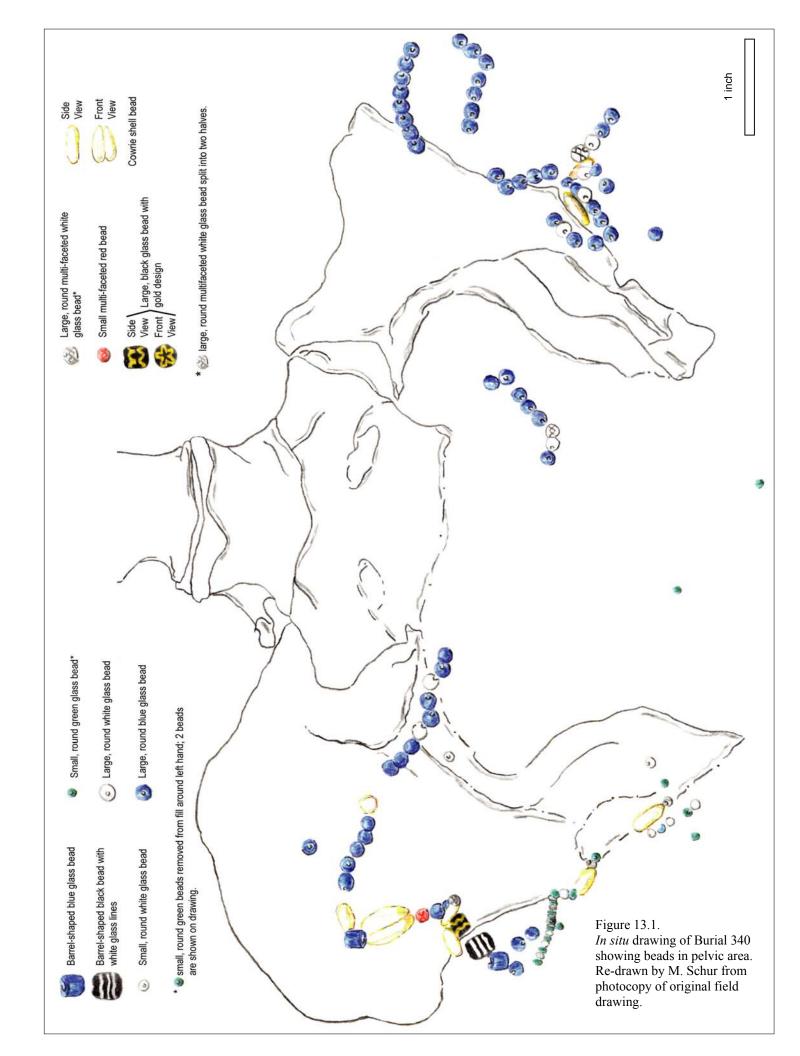
Adults with personal adornment

The woman in Burial 340 wore two strands of beads assembled primarily from a mix of European-made glass in shades of blue and yellow (Figure 13.1). The smaller of the two strands, a bracelet with forty-one glass beads, was draped around her right wrist. The larger strand encircled her hips; it held seventy glass beads, one amber bead, and seven cowries. These two strands account for all of the cowries from the African Burial Ground and approximately 76% of the beads (112 of 147 specimens), including half of the bead types represented (Bead Types 1-4, 7-9, 12, 15). Burial 340 is assigned to the Early Group. The woman it held was between thirty-nine and sixty-four years old when she died. In addition to her jewelry, she was interred with other items, including an unused tobacco pipe (see Chapter 5).

Two other adults each had a single bead. Burial 250, an Early Group burial of an adult of undetermined sex and age, had a large spherical bead of opaque black (Bead Type 11). The bead was recovered from the central part of the coffin, possibly near the pelvis, in association with an iron mass, a pewter tack, and a copper-alloy button. The thirty-five-to-forty-year-old woman in Burial 107, a Late-Middle Group interment, had an opaque redwood bead with a transparent green core (Bead Type 5). The bead was recovered near her ear during the laboratory cleaning of the skeletal remains.

Adults were laid to rest with their rings as well as their beads. Four copper-alloy finger rings, two of which had glass ("paste") insets of seemingly identical design, were associated with women from three temporal groups. The forty-four-to-fifty-two-year-old

⁷ Illustrations of the metal jewelry are located in the inventory at the end of 13.E.



woman in Burial 310 wore her paste ring on her left hand, although the exact finger placement is unknown. The ring was recovered in the laboratory, minus its central inset, which is thought to have been missing at the time of interment. Burial 310 is assigned to the Middle Group; the grave appears to have been placed along the south side of the fence that once traversed the site. The paste ring of the forty-to-fifty-year-old woman in Burial 242 was found on the third finger of the right hand. Coins were placed over her eyes; pins found in her lumbar region and sternum are suggestive of clothing. She was buried in what appears to be a north-south row of graves situated north of the fence line; her grave is assigned to the Late Group, post 1776.

The twenty-five-to-thirty-five-year-old women in Burials 115 and 71 wore rings with plain bands, the former on the third finger of the left hand, the latter on the third finger of the right hand. Pin fragments on the cranium of the woman in Burial 115 point to shrouding; her grave is assigned to the Middle Group. Pins near the hips of the woman in Burial 71 hint at clothing. Burial 71 is assigned to the Late-Middle Group.

One woman (Burial 337, a Late-Middle Group interment) had three copper-alloy rings that lay side-by-side near her throat (Figure 13.2). One of the rings had a small fragment of hair or fiber attached to the bottom. The material may have been from a string of some sort. If that was the case, then the rings might have been part of a necklace. The woman in Burial 377 was between thirty-three and fifty-eight years old. Whether she was interred in a coffin is unclear. Excavators noted deteriorated material, possibly remnants of a coffin lid and floor, above and below the skeletal remains. A substance excavators believed to be red ocher was observed on the possible wood remnants.





Figure 13.2. *In situ* photograph of Burial 377 showing the location of rings found at the throat. The copper-alloy ring pictured above measured 13 mm in diameter. Two additional rings were recovered adjacent to it (not visible). Photograph by Dennis Seckler.

Decorative cuff links were found with six individuals interred during the same era as the women with rings. Some of the cuff links, called "sleeve buttons" or "links of buttons" during the 18th century, came in plain and fancy versions. Others were no longer attached to their mates. Still others were missing the shanks that would have been soldered to their backs when the items were new. The two turquoise enamel faces recovered from Burial 371 were decorated with a squat, white-and-pink V that straddled two like-colored dots. This burial, which is assigned to the Middle Group, held a twenty-five-to-thirty-five-year-old woman interred without a coffin; the cuff link faces were found beneath her left upper arm. The turquoise enamel face recovered near the chin of the individual in Burial 211 was undecorated. This individual, probably a man, also was interred without a coffin, directly over another grave, in what appears to be a north-south row of Late Group burials, post 1776.

Three men had octagonal-shaped copper-alloy cufflinks with impressed designs. One pair was recovered near the left wrist of a man of undetermined age who occupied Burial 341, which is assigned to the Middle Group. This man's coffin was directly atop the coffin of a woman with whom he may have shared a grave. Two pairs were found near the wrists of the forty-to-fifty year old man in Burial 238, a Late-Middle Group interment. Another Late-Middle Group interment, Burial 392, held a forty-two-to-fifty-two-year-old man with two cuff link faces, one near the right shoulder and another near the cervical vertebrae. Buttons and fibers indicate that he was clothed when interred; unlike most burials, the head was oriented to the east. In addition, a pair of round, gilded copper-alloy cuff links was recovered from each wrist of the twenty-to-thirty-year-old man in Burial 158, another coffin-less burial from the Late Group.

Seven individuals were apparently laid to rest in jackets, shirts, and breeches fastened with a mix of decorative buttons, primarily cast copper alloy but also pewter and wood. Button faces ranged in style—two had anchor motifs; others were domed, smooth, ridged, and gilded—but the buttons worn by particular individuals did not always match. The domed buttons belonged to men from the Middle Group (Burials 326 and 415). Another man, a Late-Middle Group interment, had smooth-faced buttons (Burial 10), as did a probable woman (Burial 259) and a probable man (Burial 6) whose graves are assigned to the Late Group. The latter two individuals also had buttons in other styles, including buttons with ridged faces (the woman) and anchor motifs (the man). Two other Late Group burials also had decorative buttons. The man in burial 325 had a single gilt copper-alloy button (Burial 325). The buttons recovered from the man in Burial 181 came in different materials as well as styles. Four of the buttons had turned bone backs and copper-alloy fronts decorated with repoussé or impressed designs.

Problematic cases

Artifacts with ambiguous provenience are not uncommon on archaeological sites, and the adornment assemblages have their share. A whitish tan bead characteristic of African manufacture (Bead Type 13) was found in soil to the west of the bones from Burial 434, a

⁸ The cuff links and buttons referred to here and in the next paragraph are illustrated in Chapter 12.C.

Middle Group interment that was only partially excavated when fieldwork ceased. The age and sex of the burial's occupant could not be determined. Grave fill from Burial 428, another Middle Group interment, yielded two gray beads with facets (Bead Type 10). This burial held a woman between forty and seventy years of age. A third burial from the Middle Group, Burial 398, was found in re-deposited soil that contained a copper-alloy ring and fragments from a copper-alloy cuff link with an octagonal shape. The remains of the deceased, an adult between twenty-five and thirty-five years old, were heavily disturbed by the construction of a retaining wall during the archaeological excavation of the site

There is one case in which cuff links were recorded in the laboratory but not in the field. Laboratory records indicate that a fragment of a cast copper-alloy cufflink or button from an unknown provenience was attributed to Burial 387, an Early Group interment of a man between thirty-four and forty-four years of age. The item was not photographed and was not recovered after the collapse of the World Trade Center.

Finally, a curved piece of copper alloy, identified tentatively as either a remnant of an earring or a bent pin, was attached to a fragment of coffin wood recovered from Burial 332, a Late-Middle Group interment of an adult, probably a man, between thirty-five and forty years old. It was found in the laboratory when the thoracic vertebrae were cleaned. More distinctive than the object is the mark on the coffin, "HW38," which is discussed in Chapter 10.

Problematic cases are not reflected in the count of burials with personal adornment. Had the problematic cases been included, the total would still form too modest a base to support meaningful inferences about consumer preferences or aesthetic trends.

Discussion

Of all the objects associated with the individuals interred at the African Burial Ground, adornment would seem to be the special preserve of the self. Shroud pins, coffins, and grave markers are the stuff of cemeteries. Adornments, in contrast, are personal effects that presumably kept company with their wearers prior to death. Moreover, adornments may have been among the most meaningful of the personal effects that New Yorkers living under slavery used or owned. Unlike clothing, which slaveholders supplied, the grace notes fell to Africans themselves.

Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that black New Yorkers enlisted their adornments to redress constraints slavery placed on their day-to-day lives. Newspapers of the period call attention to the deployment of adornment in pursuit of freedom. On view at the African Burial Ground, with the infants and young children in Burials 186, 187, 226, and 254, is another foundational project adornment supported: the shoring up of intergenerational ties.

Manhattan's compact homes and episodic commercial economy made an inauspicious framework for African childrearing. Africans resided in every municipal ward during the

1700s, but they typically worked apart from their compatriots and kin. Slaveholdings were small—singletons and pairs were the norm; turnover among owners was high; and family members were scattered when sold within the city and its surrounds (Kruger 1985:128-259; Medford 2004:138-143; White 1991:88-92). Information about how parents cared for children who lived at a remove is difficult to come by. Weekend and workday visiting, and the gifts that enlivened it, was a key strategy for maintaining intergenerational attachments in the plantation colonies of Virginia and South Carolina (Morgan 1998:498-558). Visiting and gift giving would also have connected the families city dwellers formed. Yet black family visiting went largely unnoticed in white Manhattan unless truancy was involved (on New Yorkers who ran away to visit relatives, see White 1991:134-139). The things adults routinely give to infants and young children—food, names, stories, spiritual instruction, physical care—went unnoticed, too, as did occasional gifts like a silver pendant, a piece of filigree, a necklace, and a string of beads looped at the waist.

The relationship between the adult givers and the child receivers did not come down to us. Among the possibilities are fictive kin, relatives created by cultural convention rather than the circumstances of birth. Also unknown are the events that prompted the gift giving, and the material burdens the givers incurred. Only the lines of exchange are intact. They tell of emotional and material investments in children within a community where the likelihood of seeing children mature was uncertain.

Instances of adult-to-child gift giving in the archaeological record of 18th century slavery are unusual, both in mainland America and farther afield. In addition to the four youngsters at the African Burial Ground, a child with a bead necklace was uncovered in the African portion of a cemetery shared by the Nagel and Dyckman families, Dutch homesteaders with adjoining farms in Washington Heights, now a part of upper Manhattan (Bolton 1924:203-204). A burial site in the Chesapeake held an infant interred with a string of small white beads (Hudgins 1977:70). No adornments were recovered with the infants and young children laid to rest at Newton Plantation; interment practices at this Barbados cemetery were selective, however, and relatively few infants and young children were buried there (Handler and Lange 1978:285-87).

Although material endearments deepened ties among peers, the gifting of jewelry to friends, sweethearts, and spouses is not accessible from the burial ground. Unlike the young adornment wearers, the adults did not leave behind any telltale evidence about the hands that brought personal decorations into their lives. Neither did the items the adults had. Buttons and cuff links destined for clothing could have been received as gifts, along with rings and strung or single beads. Conversely, all of the items could have been self-acquired, including the finger rings with plain bands (Burials 71 and 115) that connote matrimony to 21st century American eyes. Africans who lived three hundred years ago saw rings in a different light (see Herbert 1984:23-31). So, also, did colonial Americans of European descent (Fales 1995:23-41). Because the custom of wearing wedding rings was not universally common among the latter, there would have been little reason to pressure enslaved Africans to solemnize their unions with rings.

Men and women configured their worlds when they wore adornment, not just when they gave it away. Accessories reserved for festive occasions helped separate work from leisure, a role that clothing played (White 1991:195). Adornment worn everyday also put a stamp on the routines and rituals in which adults engaged. The waist beads from burial 340 exemplify the everyday category, albeit with a twist: they would have been hidden beneath the wearer's clothes, if not in Manhattan, than in parts of Ghana and Nigeria, where women used waist beads to apportion the public and private sides of their lives. Waist beads doubled as foundation garments. But rather than reshaping a woman's figure, like girdles or corsets, waist beads helped conceal it from view. The garment (typically a wrapper or an apron) that covered a woman's hips was tucked around the beads, which functioned as an "under" belt to keep the garment secure. Waist beads were removed from time-to time for restringing but otherwise stayed in place. They were visible to people who lived in emotional and physical proximity to the wearer, such as a husband or a sweetheart, and the women with whom she bathed and groomed (for the etiquette of waist bead concealment and display among the Akuapem of Ghana, a group whose kingdom dates to the beginning of the 1700s, see Gilbert 1993:126-127).

Whether the waist beads from Burial 340 were worn daily beneath a gown or a petticoat is impossible to know. Still, the beads are a point of contact with the gendered dimensions of the world black New Yorkers created. Historians of black life in 18th century Manhattan have pieced together male-to-female population ratios and patterns of labor (Kruger 1985; White 1991). The Skeletal Biology Team has reconstructed male and female mortality trends (see Blakey et al. 2004b [Chapter 13 of the Skeletal Biology Report]). Evidence on how Africans construed manhood and womanhood is harder to find. Women's subjective understandings about femininity and comportment are particularly elusive, not only for Manhattan but also for the regions from which captives came. The images and associations that made waist beads meaningful to women with dissimilar backgrounds and experiences are elusive as well (for present-day images among the Yorùbá of Nigeria, see Drewel and Mason 1998:80-81).

While some adornment wearers drew on their homeland fashions, others looked to their friends. Thomas de Voe, a chronicler of the city's public markets, called attention to stylistic camaraderie among black youths and men who showed off their dance moves at Catharine Market, an eastside food-selling venue established in 1786. A dance contingent from Long Island favored neatly tied queues and improvised wigs. The signature look of a group from Tappan, New Jersey, centered on plaited forelocks bound with tea lead, a thinly hammered lead alloy named for the tea boxes it lined (De Voe 1862[1969:341, 344-45]). De Voe did not describe the decorations black bystanders wore, but sorting out the influences and sizing up the trends would have been more difficult in the city than in its less congested surrounds.

Matters of style are no better documented on the African side of the Atlantic than in New York. Beads and metal jewelry were available throughout the Atlantic world, as we show in 13.B, and adornment wearers in western Africa were inveterate recyclers of local and imported goods. Yet the canon of knowledge observers built during the 17th and 18th centuries makes a poor fashion gazetteer. It highlights the coasts rather than the

hinterlands that provisioned New York's African labor force (see Curtin 1964:11-27 and Figure 2.18). Its sociological sightlines are limited as well. More often than not what dazzled European visitors and African artists of the day were the accoutrements of the privileged and the sumptuary systems that underwrote the expansion of African states (on the use of art to advance statecraft in 18th century Benin, see Ben-Amos 1999).

Observers like the Reverend Willhelm Müller illustrate the extent of the documentary gaps. During his stay in the Gold Coast kingdom of the Fetu, Müller noticed the adornments of the general public as well as of the elite. Ordinary men who lived in the shadow of Fort Frederiksborg, where Müller served as chaplain from 1662 to 1669, wore "poor-quality beads" or cowries around their necks, and copper or iron rings on their arms and hands. Ordinary women plaited their hair "elegantly" and sometimes "[hung] just one large blue bead in it." A string of "common beads," and "perhaps an elegant little cord woven from bark," encircled their legs, arms, and necks. Cowries were becoming widely available during this period but were not used as adornment among the Fetu elite. Wealthy men and women ornamented themselves with gold and precious stones (Müller 1673, translated in Jones 1983:203-207).

Because only a small fraction of the era's adornment styles entered the historical record, the beads and other jewelry from the African Burial Ground are unreliable guides to their wearer's ethnic roots. Yet these items are not bereft of identifying detail. They belong to an era when Africans in geographically far-flung places were using mass-produced goods to organize everyday desires and circumvent the inequities that troubled their lives.

13.B. Personal adornment in historical context

Personal adornments like those found at the African Burial Ground were highly portable and widely circulated, both in the Atlantic world and in mainland North America. Most, if not all, were available in New York City as well. We look briefly at the traffic in adornment along the west African coast, where the majority of Africans sent directly to New York from the 1660s onward were embarked; in the Caribbean, where Africans were transshipped to North American ports; in mainland America, where trade was oriented to Native American populations; and finally, in the city of New York.

Because the African Burial Ground provided a resting place for black New Yorkers during the 17th and 18th centuries, our temporal focus is confined to the high tide of Atlantic trade. This period witnessed enormous change in the material worlds of the regions from which captives were taken: monetary standards, sumptuary codes, and consumption patterns were reconfigured as European and African powers vied for control of labor and goods. Commerce and consumption on the American side of the Atlantic changed dramatically, too. Economic expansion in the decades after 1680 drew colonial Americans into the consumer revolution then sweeping through the Netherlands, Britain, and France. By the mid 1700s, "material goods appeared with increasing frequency at cheaper prices among far more consumers than ever before" (Butler 2000:154). Understanding how adornment from an African cemetery in lower Manhattan is

entangled with Atlantic commerce is important because African labor produced much of the plenitude that 17th and 18th century consumers enjoyed.

Glass beads formed the largest portion of personal decorations imported to western Africa, with "many billions landed in barrels, cases, and casks" along the Guinea Coast (Alpern 1995:22). Venice was the main center of European bead production, though bead making also thrived in the Netherlands from the late 16th through the mid 18th centuries (Baart 1988, Karklins 1974, Sleen 1963). Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, and France had glass bead industries as well.

Prior to the heyday of European mercantile imperialism, glass beads from Egypt, South Asia, and Spain reached western Africa via trans-Saharan trade routes. So, too, did beads made of carnelian and other precious stones. The trans-Saharan traffic in exotic glass and stone beads was supplemented by local production and benefited primarily the political elite (Insoll and Shaw 1997:15-16; Ogundiran 2002:432-436). For the West African public at large, the mass availability of glass beads coincided with the boom in Atlantic commerce.

To be sure, glass beads and jewelry such as silver chains and metal rings represented only a small percentage of the overall value of European imports. Cloth and clothing dominated the European-West African trade "from start to finish" (Alpern 1995:6). Yet the sheer volume of personal adornment was nonetheless enormous, and it grew in amount and range as the 18th century progressed.

Imports of personal decorations varied regionally, as did imports of cowries and metal, two other materials from which adornments were made. Cowries may have "touched the daily lives of [ordinary] individuals" more profoundly than other Atlantic imports (Ogundiran 2002:440; Gregory 1996). Cowries underwrote secular and sacred exchange in an ever-expanding shell-money zone that eventually extended from the Bight of Benin to the Mali Empire, where the monetization of cowries took hold in the context of trans-Saharan trade. The amount of cowries in western Africa escalated dramatically with the shifting of primary supply routes from land to sea. Between 1700 and 1790, the British and Dutch cartels that dominated the maritime trade moved more than 25 million pounds by weight of cowries—over 10 billion individual shells—into West African ports (Hogendorn and Johnson 1986:58-61). The contours of regional supply and demand on the eve of the boom are shown in Table 13.2, which focuses on cowries and adornments carried under England's flag.

The dominance of textiles is evident in Eltis's (2000:300) snapshot of merchandise shipped from London aboard crown vessels to West and West Central Africa between 1662 and 1713. Textiles were by far the most important import, accounting for 55% by value for the combined regions of the Guinea Coast, followed by metals (18%), cowries (6%), personal decorations (6%), containers (4%), guns and gunpowder (4%), spirits (2%), luxury goods (1%), and miscellaneous items (5%). Alpern (1995) provides information on the following categories of goods: cloth (Indian and European), clothing (especially kerchiefs, hats and caps), linens, un-worked or semi-processed metal, metal containers and other metal wares such as tools and utensils, firearms, beads, coral, cowries, spirits, tobacco, glassware, ceramics and paper.

| Table 13.2. Adornments and cowries imported into Africa by region, 1662-1713 ¹⁰ | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------|
| | Upper Guinea | Gold Coast | Bight of Benin | Bight of Biafra | West- Central | Wind- ward Coast | Total |
| Value (£ sterling) of personal decorations imported into Africa | 12,700 | 4,600 | 6,700 | 13,000 | 900 | 100 | 38,000 |
| Percent of imports to each region represented by personal decorations | 27% | 1% | 8% | 14% | 1% | not calcu- lated | 6% |
| Value of cowries | 400 | 3,900 | 38,300 | 800 | 0 | | 43,400 |
| Percent represented by cowries | 1% | 1% | 44% | 1% | 0 | | 6% |

Africans refashioned imported commodities into goods used for personal display and official regalia as well as food production and market exchange, activities that extend and intensify social life. Un-worked and semi-processed metal fed a millennia-old industry attuned to shifts in material availability and consumer demand (Herbert 1984:9-11). African smiths recast iron bars into farm implements, household utensils, and bangles. Brass and copper *manillas*, open-ended bracelets imported by the millions to West Africa beginning in the 15th century, were worn as jewelry but also melted down to make plaques, weights, and measures (Alpern 1995:13). Thin sheet brass was especially prized in Benin, as Captain Thomas Phillips learned during his stopover in Whydah in 1694; the sheets were cut up to make bracelets and bands for adorning the neck and the limbs (cited in Handler and Lange 1978:156). Bracelets recovered archaeologically from pre 19th century contexts at Elmina on the Gold Coast were likely produced from white metal and iron wire and rods acquired from overseas (DeCorse 2001:135).

Glass beads shipped from Europe were also reworked in African locales. The melting, grinding, polishing, and drilling of imported glass beads pre-dates the Atlantic trade, as archaeological finds from Mali and Nigeria attest (DeCorse 1989; Insoll and Shaw 1997; Ogundiran 2002). Although the history of African glassmaking is not well understood, several different industries of unknown ancestry are represented in West Africa, including one involving the firing, in clay molds, of chipped and powdered glass (Lamb 1976, 1978; Wild 1937). Glass from the Atlantic trade came to be used as raw material in the manufacture of powder-glass beads (DeCorse 2001:137). Powder-glass beads were recovered at the African Burial Ground with Burials 226 and 434.

The presence in colonial Manhattan of glass beads characteristic of West African manufacture calls attention to the movement of adornment *from* Africa *to* the Americas. This aspect of the material culture of Atlantic slavery is not well charted. Some Africans

¹⁰ Source: Eltis (2000:300) adapted by Ogundiran (2002:430).

¹¹ Frank McManamon, who kindly reviewed a draft of this report for the National Park Service, contributed to our phrasing of this point.

arrived in the Americas with adornment, but how often this occurred and whether the items were brought from home or acquired en route is unclear. Captors were not squeamish about confiscating the belongings of the captured, as indicated by the disheartening spectacle William Hugh Grove observed in 1732 in a Virginia port: "The Boyes and Girles [aboard the slave ship were] all Stark naked; so Were the greatest part of the Men and Women. Some had beads about their necks, arms, and Wasts, and a ragg or Piece of Leather the bigness of a fig Leafe" (cited in Baumgarten 2002:132). Shippers were not averse to parceling out adornments stowed on board. In 1796, the women on a slaver anchored in Carlisle Bay, off the southwest coast of Barbados, wore necklaces strung with glass beads acquired, apparently, from the crew. General William Dyott, who described the scene, learned from the ship's master that new-stringing the beads was the women's "chief employment" (cited in Handler and Lange 1978:147).

That 18th century merchants were not always able to off-load their adornment cargos in African ports is confirmed by the salvaging of the British slaver *Henrietta Marie*. A cache of glass beads was recovered from the hold of the ship, which sank off Key West in 1701 during the last leg of its London-Calabar-Kingston route (African-American Archaeology Newsletter 1997:9).

Yet Africans crossed the Atlantic as sailors, not just as commodities enchained below deck. Black seafaring took root in the emerging Anglo-American maritime world of the second quarter of the 17th century. The presence of enslaved and free black seamen in North American ports and plantation roadsteads increased steadily after 1740, as did the number of black New Yorkers who fled from bondage in sailor guise (see Table 12.3, entries from 1748 to 1783). By 1803, black men filled approximately 18% of American seamen's jobs (Bolster 1997:2-9). Ships and boats provided a "porous boundary" across which "goods, ideas, individuals, and aesthetics" flowed (Bolster 1997:7). During their travels black seamen may well have acquired strings of beads or cowries, which could have been sold, exchanged, or given as gifts upon return to port.

European-made glass beads, buttons, cuff links, and copper-alloy rings were imported to and available for sale in the circum-Caribbean colonies of Britain, Holland, Spain and Portugal during the 17th and 18th centuries. Captives who ultimately were transported to New York may have acquired adornments in the Caribbean. Avenues for acquisition of adornment included own-account economic activity, such as marketing produce, processed foodstuffs, and livestock.

Personal decorations produced in European factories circulated widely in mainland North America. Glass beads and metal and paste rings akin to those found at the African Burial Ground are documented on colonial-era sites ranging from Upper Michigan and upstate New York to southern Florida (see Deagan 1987; Karklins 1992; Quimby 1966; Smith 1965; Stone 1974; Wood 1974; Wray and Schoff 1953). French, Spanish, English, and Dutch trading cartels and colonial agents used adornments in conjunction with other commodities to negotiate "favored" trading partnerships with Native American populations. Native Americans, in turn, drew on such items to reconfigure status relations and spheres of influence amongst themselves.

Imported and locally made jewelry was plentiful in New York City. Silversmiths who apprenticed in Europe and in the mainland British colonies crowded Manhattan, as did specialist jewelers who worked in enamel and set gems (Fales 1995:66-70). Silversmiths made large and small wares for wealthy patrons and the general public, sometimes acting as jobbers for retailers, sometimes operating retail stores of their own, often with a jeweler on site (Barquist 2001:25). Charles Oliver Bruff, a Maryland-born silversmith's son, employed two jewelers, one from London and another from Paris. Enameled cuff links, brass buttons, earrings, hair jewels, and "all sorts of silver smiths work" could be found on the shelves of his Maiden Lane shop (*New-York Mercury*, January 3, 1763; *New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, May 25, 1772).

Personal adornment was sold in general emporiums as well as specialty stores. The account books of merchant Samuel Deall record necklaces, earrings, and beads sold in 1758 (Deall 1757-1766). The price of a "bunch" of black beads, perhaps like those found with Burial 187, was 2 shillings and sixpence. Beaded necklaces—it is not known whether of glass or metal—ranged in price from 1 to 17 shillings, while earrings suitable for children sold from 1 shilling and 10 pence to as much as £1.4 for fine red drop clusters. Deall's emporium on Broad Street was typical of its time, stocking clothing, foodstuffs, house wares, light construction materials, and "all elements of ornamentation for person and home" (Arthur 1985:37).

Although Africans are not likely to have patronized establishments like Deall's or Bruff's, some of the less expensive adornments merchants and craftsmen carried would have made their way into smaller retail venues. "Cheap sales" and auctions of overstocked merchandise lowered retail prices, and small-scale vendors such as peddlers would have bought inexpensively and sold with a modest mark-up. Stocks of stolen goods also circulated in the city, and peddlers were accused of trafficking in ill-gotten wares (on merchants and peddlers, regulatory legislation, and the disposal of overstocks, see Matson 1998:131-134, 139-140, 158).

Personal adornment may also have been received as gifts from the households where Africans toiled, but unlike clothing, jewelry was not customarily given to enslaved household members.

In summary, personal adornment could have been acquired in Africa, along the routes by which Africans reached New York, or in the city itself. Glass beads circulated throughout the Atlantic world. Metal and paste rings were traded in Africa and the Americas, and sold in Manhattan stores. A silver pendant would have been available in a city shop or market stall or as part of a peddler's stock. Enamel cuff links were imported and locally produced. And while cowries never played a visible role in the Native American trade, all manner of items were bought, sold, and fenced at the docks and taverns that comprised the "waterfront economy" (Linebaugh and Rediker 2000:181-182).

Considering the poverty of most who were interred at the African Burial Ground, the outlay of even one or two shillings for adornment would likely have been a considerable expense. Holding on to an adornment for a long period of time may have been difficult as well. But however hard-won or precariously held, the beads and other adornments recovered with the deceased were treated as inalienable possessions at the end of their wearers' lives. Why these objects were removed permanently from circulation rather than passed along to one of the mourners is impossible to know. It is unlikely that a single explanation exists. The circumstances surrounding the deaths of the twenty-five individuals directly associated with adornment would have varied. So, too, would the sensibilities of the neighbors and kin who laid these individuals to rest.

13.C. The bead assemblage

The bead assemblage from the African Burial Ground includes 146 glass beads and 1 amber bead. The majority of the glass beads were likely produced in Venice (Murano), but nine glass beads were produced using distinctive firing methods associated with West African manufacturing techniques. The glass beads fell into two structural categories: simple beads made from a single, undecorated layer of glass (144 specimens, or 99%), and complex beads with adventitious decoration (2 specimens, or 1%). Three different production methods—winding, drawing, and firing—were represented.

The color and diaphaneity of the glass beads ranged from opaque black (22 specimens) to opaque and translucent yellow, light gold, and whitish tan (30 specimens). Transparent blue (58 specimens) and translucent blue green (26 specimens) beads predominated. The African Burial Ground bead assemblage, however, does not support hypotheses about color preference at the collective level (see Stine et al. 1996) because the majority of the beads were recovered from a single burial.

Bead sizes ranged from very small (diameters of 2.2-2.3 mm for the black beads from Burial 187) to medium (the powder-glass beads from Burial 226 were approximately 4.5 mm in diameter; most of the blue and light gold beads were in the 5-7 mm range), and large (the opaque black bead from Burial 250 was 13.6 mm in diameter).

Recovery, condition and treatment, chain of custody¹²

Almost all the beads were recovered in the field during careful scraping of soil from skeletal remains. Ten beads from Burial 187 were found when screening the soil. The bead from Burial 107 was recovered in the laboratory when the skeletal remains were cleaned.

The majority of the beads were vitrified and glassy. Most beads exhibited signs of glass disease, surface corrosion, pitting, or frosting. The beads were cleaned with a dry brush

¹² Conservation information for the three assemblages discussed in this chapter was obtained from John Milner Associates (see LaRoche 2002:29-39).

to remove the soil but not the weathered surface, a corrosion product that represents the deteriorated original surface, and hence the dimensions of the once-healthy glass.

Porous, flaking, and friable surfaces of six beads from Burial 340 were impregnated with acryloid B-72 to prevent further loss of surface detail. All other beads were left untreated, although five beads from Burial 340 were sent to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for SEMS/ED elemental analysis. The analysis was undertaken to determine the relationship between chemical composition and corrosion pattern. Test results indicated that the beads were composed primarily of soda, lime, and silica, with varying levels of magnesium and other trace elements. Visually identical glass beads with different patterns of corrosion had different chemical formulations.

The beads were inventoried and discussed by conservator Cheryl La Roche (1994a, 1994b) for John Milner Associates. The assemblage was then reexamined for the Howard University Archaeology Team by archaeologist Christopher R. DeCorse at Syracuse University (Fall 1998, Spring 1999, Summer 2001). Syracuse University returned the beads to the New York laboratory during the summer of 2001. Jon Abbott took a final set of photographs in August 2001. At that time, the beads were packed by the Bronx Council of the Arts and shipped by Artex to its art storage facility in Landover, Maryland, pending preparation for reburial. The beads were re-inventoried by the Army Corps of Engineers at the Landover facility in 2003, and subsequently transshipped back to New York, where they were placed in coffins for reburial.

Methodology, definitions

DeCorse examined the beads under magnification of 10x-20x with strong light. The descriptive data recorded for each bead included:

MANUFACTURE: The primary technique(s) used in the creation of the bead, such as winding, drawing, and firing (see Karklins 1985, 1993; Kidd and Kidd 1983).

STRUCTURE: The arrangement or relationship of the parts of a bead. Structure refers to gross physical characteristics, such as the number of layers or applied decorative elements, not to the chemical or physical characteristics of the glass. Following Karklins' terminology (1985), two structural categories are represented in the assemblage: SIMPLE beads, made from a single, undecorated layer of glass, and COMPLEX beads, simple beads with adventitious decoration.

SECONDARY MODIFICATION: The alteration of the shape, color, or opacity of a bead through reheating, tumbling, grinding, cutting, and kindred techniques. Beads were modified both at the place of manufacture and long after they left the factory floor.

Determination of when modification took place is sometimes impossible. Some secondary modification techniques, however, can be correlated with particular manufacturing sites.

Venetian manufacturers used several techniques of heat rounding to alter cylindrical drawn beads to spherical, oblate, and barrel shapes. The a speo method, introduced in the 18th century, was one method. It was accomplished by reheating beads on a specially designed fork or a speo placed near the door of an oven. Karklins (1993) has identified several diagnostic features on beads altered using this method. These attributes include tangs or tails of glass where the more viscous surface of the glass flowed downward. In other cases beads fused together while on the a speo. Drawn beads that show evidence of having been broken apart at the ends, or beads that are fused together with their perforations in perfect alignment, were heat rounded by the a speo method. Some of the Type 2 beads have many of these attributes. Some Type 2 beads also have marks within their perforations that may be indicative of the a speo method. Beads modified using this technique which do not have any of these attributes would appear the same as other heat rounded beads, and it is often difficult to differentiate these technique on individual beads. All produce similar results, and subsequent polishing, use wear, or weathering obliterates differences. Hence, while all of the Type 2 beads may have been rounded using the a speo technique, no clear indications are present on some of the beads.

Drawn beads were also rounded using other methods during the 18th century. Before 1817 beads were rounded by placing them in a large pan with a mixture of sand and wood ash, or plaster and graphite (Karklins 1985:88). The pan was then heated over a charcoal fire and the mixture continuously stirred.

SHAPE: The profile of the bead. Shape implies nothing about the size or contour of the perforation, the relative length of the bead, or the manufacturing processes represented. An effort has been made to use terminology that is clear in casual reading but precise in relation to the attributes represented. For this reason, some terms popular in common usage, such as "barrel shaped" and "donut," have been retained.

SPHERICAL beads have shapes approximating a sphere, mathematically defined as an approximately round body in which the surface is equidistant from the center at all points. Few beads are precisely spherical; the term is used to indicate shapes that are clearly round.

OBLATE beads have profiles that are circular to ellipsoidal.

GLOBULAR beads have a semispherical or ellipsoidal aspect but are irregular or non-symmetrical in cross section. Beads of this shape include specimens such as drawn beads that have been heat rounded or cooked.

CYLINDRICAL beads always have clearly circular cross sections along their entire length, the sides of the beads being parallel to the line of the perforation. The term is used for beads with the very regular, straight profiles often associated with drawn beads that have not been heat altered.

TUBULAR beads are often cylindrical but lack the very regular, parallel surfaces characteristic of drawn or molded beads. The term "tubular" should not be

conflated with the terms "tube" or "tube beads," which have been used to describe drawn beads.

BARREL SHAPED beads have a circular cross-section, widest in the middle, decreasing in a regular way to flat or semi-flat ends. The side profiles of these beads appear as arcs that intersect planes at each end.

CONICAL beads have profiles that decrease in a regular line from one end to the other.

FACETS are intentional planes on the surface of a bead produced by grinding, molding or marvering.

DECORATION: A wide variety of decorative techniques are employed in bead manufacture. Only two beads examined in the African Burial Ground assemblage were decorated. These are types 9 and 12. In each case, the decoration consists of adventitious decoration on a wound bead. The Type 9 bead is an opaque back bead with a trailed decoration of gold foil. The Type 12 bead is opaque black with traces of a trailed (possibly opaque white) decoration. Both types are typical of Venetian manufacture.

colors: Colors should be regarded as approximate rather than absolute. Color is an ephemeral characteristic, often appearing slightly different under different viewing conditions. Individual perceptions may also result in different readings. The minute size of some of the decorative components also makes precise color determination a challenge. In addition, color is often variable even on specimens of similar age from the same factory. Prior to the twentieth century, manufacturing techniques were not precise and slight color variations might result. Post-production weathering through use or burial in an archaeological site creates additional variation.

DIAPHANEITY: Each color is preceded by its diaphaneity, which is opaque, translucent, or transparent. Opaque glass is impenetrable to light. Translucent glass transmits light but diffuses it so that objects on the other side are indistinct. Transparent glass allows objects on the other side to be clearly viewed. In recording this attribute an attempt was made to determine the bead's original character.

LUSTER: The appearance of the bead's surface in reflected light. In contrast to color and diaphaneity, this attribute often reflects post-manufacture use wear, weathering, and modification. Two luster types are used to describe the beads from the African Burial Ground: SHINY (smooth and bright) and DULL (not shiny).

size: Length and diameter are given for each bead, or a range for each dimension if a type is being described. Measurements reflect the maximum length or width. Generalized categories of length such as short, standard, and long, defined in terms of specific length to width ratios, are not used.

Manufacture, age, origin

As noted, the majority of the beads in the assemblage were likely produced in Venice. They are almost entirely simple monochrome beads that have comparatively wide temporal and geographic distributions, and that have been documented on a wide variety of archaeological sites. They are completely consistent with, though not restricted to, the African Burial Ground's historically documented period of use. Notably absent are distinctive 19th century bead types, including the products of Bohemia.

The significant exceptions are one amber bead (Type 15) from Burial 340 and nine powder-glass beads of likely West African origin, one from Burial 434 (Type 13) and eight from Burial 226 (Type 14).

Amber beads were traded in Africa as well as in Europe (Alpern 1995:23; Dubin 1987:101). British Customs House ledgers indicate that amber beads were also shipped to New York (Breen 2004:62). It is possible that the Burial 340 amber bead, which is translucent red in color with fourteen worn or polished facets, originated in Africa. However, no exact parallels to the Burial 340 bead are known from African or European archaeological contexts.

The powder-glass beads are simple in structure. Type 13 (from Burial 434) is opaque whitish tan in color and cylindrical in shape, with a slightly off-center perforation through the length of the bead. The eight examples of Type 14, all from Burial 226, are oblate to donut-shaped. The original color is difficult to determine but it was probably opaque yellow. While similar in manufacture to the bead from Burial 434, the Type 14 beads are smaller and more regular in appearance and were likely ground to shape after firing. However, it is possible that the beads were heat treated after initial firing. The perforations, where visible, are also regular and were likely produced or drilled after the beads were fired. Both the Type 13 and Type 14 beads were covered with an opaque tan or whitish brown patination on the surface and were very degraded and friable, exhibiting pitting and cracking. The beads have a granular appearance under magnification. Multidirectional weathering that starts at multiple points indicates the heterogeneity of the original microstructure.

While there is some evidence for indigenous glass manufacture in West Africa, fired glass beads from Ghana, as well as other areas, relied on the reuse of imported European glassware, beads, and bottles. Using this technology, glass fragments are pounded into a fine powder that is placed into fired clay molds. These molds have small recesses at the bottom into which thin reeds or cassava (manioc) stems are placed. During firing the stem burns away, leaving a perforation through the bead. Firing, known ethnographically, is done in small domed ovens or kilns made of clay. After removal from the mold, the beads are shaped and smoothed by grinding. While this fired glass technology is found in other world areas, notably Mauritania, the characteristics and archaeological context of the Burial 226 and 434 beads make Ghana their likely place of origin.

Using a variety of molds, different colors of glass, and imported beads, African glassmakers were able to produce beads with a wide variety of elaborate shapes and decorations. For example, placing layers of different colored glass into the mold might produce bands. Stripes were made by carefully inserting lines of colored glass down the sides of the mold. Intact European beads were also incorporated into decorations (for illustrations of elaborately decorated powder-glass beads, see Francis 1993 and Liu et al. 2001). This industry continued into the present century and, indeed, our understanding of the technology is known primarily through observations of 20th century craftsmen.

Beads characteristic of African glassmaking techniques are virtually unknown in American contexts. The only other example uncovered thus far is from the Newton Plantation Burial Ground in Barbados (Handler 1997). Produced using the same technology as the bead from Burial 434, the Newton bead is similar in shape but larger in size. It is possible that other beads made with powdered glass have been uncovered in archaeological sites in the African Diaspora but that their distinctive characteristics have been unrecognized.

The presence of powder-glass beads in a colonial New York setting is also exciting from an Africanist perspective. Only limited finds of such beads have been recovered in well-dated African archaeological contexts, including a handful of examples from southern Ghana (DeCorse 2001:137-138). Even in African locales where fired glass beads were produced, European beads predominate on archaeological sites. The African Burial Ground beads thus provide information on the age of this particular bead-making technology. Excavated examples from Elmina occurred in early 18th through 19th century contexts.

Typology

The types of beads recovered from the African Burial Ground are defined in Table 13.3 and illustrated in Figures 13.4 through 13.16. The inventory in Appendix E describes each bead in full. The typology DeCorse created is specific to the African Burial Ground assemblage (for the application of taxonomies developed by Kidd and Kidd and Karklins, see LaRoche 1994a and 1994b).

| Table 13.3. Bead Types at the African Burial Ground | | | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|--|--|
| Type | Description | Burials/Count | Diameter | Length | | |
| Glass I | Beads: Drawn | | | | | |
| 1 | Drawn; simple; heat rounded; oblate, occasional examples more barrel-shaped; surfaces dull; translucent yellow; typically have heavy opaque white to yellowish brown patination that obscures actual color; surfaces degraded and pitted, typically more degraded at ends. | Burial 340, 15 beads | 2.8-3.3 mm | 1.7-2.8 mm | | |
| 2 | Drawn; simple; heat rounded, some examples have attributes associated with the <i>a speo</i> technique, such as protuberances, tails, and off center perforations; spherical to oblate, occasional examples globular or more barrel-shaped; dull to shiny, transparent blue; minor to moderately pitted, some chips and scratches, some examples have lunate scars. | Burial 340, 58 beads | 4.8-7.3 mm | 3.8-7.0 mm | | |
| 3 | Drawn; simple; heat rounded; oblate/ donut-shaped; dull, translucent blue-green; degraded, very pitted. | Burial 340, 26 beads | 2.9-3.5 mm | 1.9-2.5 mm | | |
| 4 | Drawn; simple; heat rounded; oblate; dull, opaque black; some scratches, minor pitting; small chip at aperture. | Burial 340, right side, 1 bead | 6.3 mm | 5.6 mm | | |
| 5 | Drawn; compound; slightly heat rounded; cylindrical; opaque redwood on transparent apple green core; large chip at one end | Burial 107, 1 bead | 3.2 mm | 7.7 mm | | |
| 6 | Drawn; simple; oblate, donut-shaped to tubular; generally dull, but some examples are more shiny; opaque black, some appear translucent dark reddish amber under strong light and this may be color of all examples; moderately degraded with more wear on ends; pitted; many bubbles present in glass. | Burial 187, 22 beads | 2.2-3.3 mm | 1.3-2.6 mm | | |
| Glass I | Beads: Wound | | | | | |
| 7 | Wound; simple; truncated cone; dull; translucent light gold; opaque white patination; weathered and pitted. In all examples the top of the cone has been broken off after manufacture and it may represent intentional secondary modification by the user(s); flake scar is covered with same patination as the rest of the bead. | Burial 340, 6 beads | 5.8-6.6 mm | 4.7-5.4 mm | | |
| 8 | Wound; simple; faceted; color obscured by heavy opaque patination, probably colorless or transparent amber; heavy opaque brown patination layer; has parallels from Elmina. | Burial 340, 3 beads | 3.3-5.9 mm | 5.5-6.2 mm | | |
| 9 | Wound; complex; barrel; dull; opaque black, appears dark amber under strong light; gold foil wave pattern on each end; gold foil has worn off in places, scratches, some pitting, two large flakes at one end. | Burial 340, 1 bead | 6.1 mm | 6.1 mm | | |

| Table 13.3. Bead Types at the African Burial Ground | | | | | | |
|---|--|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--|--|
| Type | Description | Burials/Count | Diameter | Length | | |
| 10 | Wound; simple; faceted with eight pressed facets; dull, transparent light gray; pitted. | Burial 428, 2 beads | 8.6-9.6 mm | 7.8-8.1 mm | | |
| 11 | Wound; simple; spherical; dull to shiny; opaque black; some pitting and weathering of surface. | Burial 250, 1 bead | 13.6 mm | 10.7 mm | | |
| 12 | Wound; complex; barrel-shaped; opaque black; three wavy lines around circumference; very pitted; line decoration has completely weathered away leaving grooves; traces of very degraded glass (possibly patination) suggest color of line decoration may have been opaque white. | Burial 340, 1 bead | 8.6 mm | 8.9 mm | | |
| Glass I | Beads: Fired | | | | | |
| 13 | Fired; tubular or cylindrical in shape with a slightly off center perforation through the length of bead, with roughly trapezoidal cross section; opaque white, with tan or whitish brown patination on surface; some pitting and cracking of surface. Bead has a granular appearance under magnification. Original microstructure was heterogeneous as evidenced by multidirectional weathering that starts at multiple points. | Burial 434, 1 bead | 6.3 mm | 3.7 mm | | |
| 14 | Produced by firing glass powder and likely produced in Ghana. Oblate to donut shaped. The original color is difficult to determine but it was probably opaque yellow. While similar in manufacture, and also in the weathering represented, to the fired bead in Burial 434 they are much smaller and regular in appearance and they were likely ground to shape after firing. However, it is also possible that the beads were heat treated after initial firing. The perforations, where visible, are also regular and were likely polished or drilled after the beads were fired. As in the 434 bead, the beads have a granular appearance under magnification. Original microstructure was heterogeneous as evidenced by multidirectional weathering that starts at multiple points. | Burial 226, 8 beads | 4.0 – 4.8 mm | 2.7 – 3.8 mm | | |
| Non-G | lass Beads (Amber) | • | • | • | | |
| 15 | Amber; bead; fourteen facets; dull, transparent red; wear or polishing has rounded edges of facets; internal cracks and bubbles; surface pitted, some shipping; damage at apertures; drilled perforation shows traces of cutting. | Burial 340, 1 bead | 4.8 mm | 4.3 mm | | |



Figure 13.3.
Bead Type 1, bottom two rows, diameters 2.8-3.3 mm.

Bead Type 3, top three rows, diameters 2.9-3.5

All are from Burial 340.

Photograph by Jon Abbott.

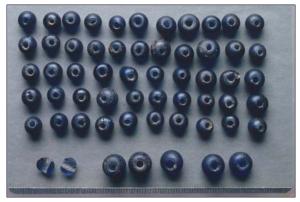


Figure 13.4. Bead Type 2, diameters 4.8-7.3 mm. All are from Burial 340. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.5. Bead Type 4, diameter 6.3 mm. From Burial 340. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.6. Bead Type 5, length 7.7 mm. From Burial 107. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.7.
Bead Type 6, diameters 2.2-3.3 mm.
All are from Burial 187.
Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.8. Bead Type 7, diameters 5.8-6.6 mm. All are from Burial 340. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.9. Bead Type 8, diameters 3.3-5.9 mm. All are from Burial 340. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.10.
Bead Type 9, left, diameter 6.1 mm.
Bead Type 15, right, diameter 4.8 mm.
Both are from Burial 340.
Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.11. Bead Type 10, diameters 8.6-9.6 mm. From Burial 428. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.12. Bead Type 11, diameter 13.6 mm. From Burial 250. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.13. Bead Type 12, length 8.9 mm. From Burial 340. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.14. Bead Type 13, diameter 6.3 mm. From Burial 434. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.15.
Bead Type14, diameters 4.0-4.8 mm.
All are from Burial 226.
Photograph by Jon Abbott.

13.D. The cowrie shells

The cowrie shells were observed during excavation of Burial 340 and were recorded *in situ* (see Figure 13.1). Although nine cowries were recorded on the field drawing prior to removal of the skeletal remains, one of the cowries was later found to be a fragment of bone. Another cowrie was not recoverable and may have been an impression of a shell in the soil (LaRoche 1994a:19). It is not known which of the cowries depicted on the drawing were among the seven cowries that comprise the assemblage.

The shells became friable when exposed to air. Application in the field of polyvinyl acetate adhesive as a consolidant caused soil to adhere to the surface of the shells, as shown in Figure 13.16.



Figure 13.16. Cowrie shell, length 16 mm, from Burial 340. Photograph by Jon Abbott.

Information about conservation and treatment is not available. The cowries were packed by the Bronx Council of the Arts and shipped by Artex to its art storage facility in Landover, Maryland, pending preparation for reburial. They were then re-inventoried by the Army Corps of Engineers in 2003 and transshipped back to New York, where they were placed in coffins for reburial

Information about the identification of the cowries is not available. They might well have originated in the Maldives, a group of atolls in the Indian Ocean that supplied the

cowries (*Cypraea moneta*) that dominated the Atlantic trade. Cowries thrive in warm, shallow lagoons. In addition to the Maldives, cowries are harvested along the East African coast, offshore of Mozambique and Zanzibar. Shells from the same species that are harvested in different time periods show no discernable difference (Hogendorn and Johnson 1986:7-9).

13.E. The rings and other jewelry

This portion of the African Burial Ground adornment assemblage consists of eleven items: five copper-alloy finger rings (three plain bands and two bands with glass insets); a cast silver pendant with a pear-shaped dangle; a glass and wire filigree ornament; three cuff link faces covered with turquoise enamel (one plain; two with designs); and one curved fragment of copper alloy, perhaps from an earring or a pin.

Recovery, condition and treatment, definitions, chain of custody

Most items were observed during field excavation of the skeletal remains and were photographed and/or drawn *in situ* prior to removal. The exceptions were the silver pendant from Burial 254, the paste ring from Burial 310, and the curved copper-alloy object from Burial 332; these were recovered during laboratory cleaning of the skeletal remains.

The three rings from Burial 377 are not included in the assemblage count. The rings, along with cervical vertebrae, were freeze-dried in the field and removed intact after photographs were taken. The rings were not cataloged in the laboratory and appear to have been lost prior to accessioning by conservators. The items were not located when the Howard University Archaeology Team began its work.

The condition of the items in this assemblage ranged from excellent to structurally unstable. Treatment varied accordingly, with an effort to avoid invasive procedures.

The plain finger rings were inspected visually and identified as copper alloy based on the corrosion products present. The term "copper alloy" is used because the precise admixture of various alloys is highly variable and is not considered particularly diagnostic of date or place of manufacture.

The paste rings were desalinated. The paste ring from Burial 310 was stable enough to undergo mechanical cleaning. The paste ring from Burial 242 was too fragile for cleaning; it was reassembled but not restored. Both rings were vacuum impregnated with BTA, a corrosion inhibitor, and then coated with acryloid B-72.

The pendant was grayish white and not readily recognizable as silver, despite the telltale signature of the corrosion product, which was pale, white, and waxy. The pendant was brittle, most likely from intergranular corrosion deep within the alloy. Surface layers at the lower portion of the dangle were disrupted and discontinuous. The pendant was mechanically cleaned under a microscope to remove the silver chloride crust. The damaged portion of the dangle was repaired with a B-72 adhesive. The entire pendant was then treated with Acryloid B-72. Elemental analysis *via* X-ray fluorescence indicated the presence of silver. To determine the percentage or "grade" of silver, a 0.5-mm sample of the inner plane of the upper ring was removed for testing with emission spectrophotometry. The spectrograph analysis was conducted by John Boyd of the U.S. Customs Service and utilized a Jarrel Ash Standard Varisource Emission

Spectrophotometer. The content of the sample was found to be 94 to 100% silver, well within the range for "pure" silver, a designation reserved for items with a silver content of 92.5% and above.

The glass and wire filigree ornament from Burial 186 was not treated. No information is available on treatment of the undecorated turquoise-colored enamel cuff link face. The two decorated enamel faces were mechanically cleaned and impregnated with acryloid B-72. Project conservators theorized that the pink surface decoration and the turquoise background had faded, respectively, from red and blue. Given the lack of devitrification, there is little reason for supposing that the faces were untrue to their original colors (Emily Wilson, Conservator of Archaeological Materials, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, personal communication).

Staff of John Milner Associates took an initial series of color slides of the rings and other jewelry, with certain items photographed before, during, and after conservation treatment. A second series of photographs (color slides and 35mm black-and-white) was taken in 1998, but neither the slides nor the negatives from the second series were salvaged after the collapse of the World Trade Center.

Laboratory technicians with the Howard University Archaeology Team reexamined the assemblage from 1997 through 1999 and in 2001. Jon Abbott took final high-quality photographs in August 2001, after which the items were packed by the Bronx Council of the Arts and shipped by Artex to its art storage facility in Landover, Maryland. The items were re-inventoried by the Army Corps of Engineers in 2003.

Jewelry earmarked for replication was sent to Colonial Williamsburg for study. Items not selected for replication were sent in September 2003 to Jon Abbott for digital photography. Abbott photographed each item from different angles, thus permitting analysis without access to the items themselves.

Items seconded to Colonial Williamsburg were returned to New York in September 2003 and, along with the rest of the assemblage, were placed in coffins for reburial.

Manufacture, age, origin

Personal adornments made and sold in colonial America did not typically carry a maker's mark (Fales 1995:23), and the rings and other jewelry from the African Burial Ground are no exception. Undecorated pieces are especially difficult to date precisely. Place of origin cannot always be pinned down. Comparative archaeological and documentary evidence indicate that the items in this assemblage are consistent with 17th and 18th century wares.

As noted in 13.B, plain copper-alloy rings had a wide geographical distribution in mainland North America. So, too, did copper-alloy rings with glass insets. Consumer demand for inexpensive jewelry ensured a profitable market for paste, and the ranks of European producers and American retailers swelled as the 18th century advanced

(Newman 1981:228; Fales 1995:48-51). Table 13.4 highlights European spheres of influence at North American sites where rings with insets identical to the rings from Burials 242 and 310 have been found.

| Table 13.4. Paste rings with central and side insets from North American archaeological contexts | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------|--|--|--|
| Sites | Time period | Reference | | | |
| Santa Rosa Pensacola, Florida (Spanish occupation with French trade links) | 1723 - 1752 | Smith (1965:97) | | | |
| Seneca/Iroquois sites in western New York (Rochester area) | 1730 - 1814 | Wood (1974:102) | | | |
| Fort Michilimackinak, Michigan (late French/ British occupation) | ca. 1750 - 1781 | Stone (1974:123-128) | | | |
| St. Augustine, Florida (Spanish) | 18 th century | Deagan (1987:125) | | | |

The cast silver pendant from Burial 254 has no counterpart in artifact collections from European trading posts and Native American encampments with 18th century dates. The lack of a twin is not for want of commerce in silver. From the 1750s to the 1830s silver jewelry lubricated the fur trade in upstate New York and in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi regions (Karklins 1992:93). Fur from the north and the west passed through colonial Manhattan; silver ornaments made by city artisans retraced some of the routes taken by the pelts. Daniel Fueter, for example, received a commission for two sets of silver medals intended for Native American chiefs; engraved with a view of Montreal, the medals commemorated the French and Indian Wars (Fales 1995:57). The extent to which Manhattan artisans were involved in the production and import of silver for Native American consumers is not well documented, however. The output of Philadelphia workshops is far better known (see Gillingham 1936).

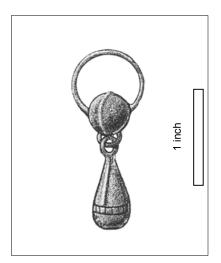


Figure 13.17. Reconstruction of silver pendant from Burial 254. Drawing by C. LaRoche and R. Schulz.

The pendant may have been made with the general customer in mind. Its pear shape was a perennial favorite among colonial American jewelry wearers (Fales 1995:47). In contrast, Native American consumers prized dangles in other styles. The simplest style, known as a "tinkling cone," was cut in a conical shape from flat sheet silver (Fredrickson 1980:43, 46). An example of a cast dangle worn as a nose ornament can be seen in Bartoli's 1796 portrait of Seneca Chief Cornplanter; the dangle is gently hooked (illustrated in Karklins 1992:79). Pear-shaped dangles may have become popular among Native Americans in the New York region during the 19th century, when Iroquois artisans

took up the silversmith trade. A dangle from a collection of Iroquois silverwork owned by the Rochester Museum and Science Center offers a close match to the African Burial Ground pendant (see the illustration in Van Horn 1971:64). The collection dates to the second half of the 19th century and was assembled near Rochester.

Enameled jewelry was fashionable during the 18th century, although much of it was acquired ready-made from overseas. Prior to the influx of continental-trained jewelers in the mid 1700s, silversmiths in colonial America used enamel for inscriptions but few artisans would have mastered the techniques needed for more intricate work (Fales 1995:62). Charles Dutens was among the first wave of enamel specialists to ply the trade in Manhattan. He worked out of his lodgings on the lower end of Broad Street and supplemented his income by teaching French (*New-York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, March 4, 1751). The enterprising Charles Oliver Bruff burnished his adornment business in 1763 by hiring a London-trained artisan who understood every kind of "enamel'd work in the jewellry way" (*New-York Mercury*, January 3, 1763). Two years later Captain Jacobson sought to cash in on the vogue for enameled cuff links by selling a shipment of London-made goods (*New-York Mercury*, April 29, 1765).

Decorative motifs enlivened plain enamel. Consumers from different social circles sometimes favored the same design. The color and shape of the motif on the enamels from Burial 371 are echoed on a pair of enamel cuff links recovered from debris at a New York City Revolutionary War encampment. Along with the squat V and the two dots (shown in Figure 13.27), the faces from the British encampment bear an additional mark, apparently scratched on. The encampment cuff links are said to show "the familiar emblem of Masonry" (Calver and Bolton 1950:227), an attribution based, perhaps, on the resemblance of the V to a drawing compass or a carpenter's square rule, two of the core "jewels" or badges of office around which lodge governance is organized.

Masonic symbols were a part of the public culture in urban America by the middle decades of the 18th century. The Broad Street tavern kept by Samuel Fraunces carried "the Sign of the freemason's arms" when put up for public auction in 1767 (*New-York Journal or the General Advertiser*, December 17, 1767). Widely available pattern books provided silversmiths and engravers with the official vernacular of designs for the silver badges of office and the silver medallions lodge members commissioned for personal use (Hamilton 1994:4-5, 126). Colonial merchants stocked drinking glasses decorated with Masonic tools. On occasion, Masons in Boston, Charleston, New York, and Philadelphia paraded through the streets with their bright silver regalia and unblemished white aprons conspicuously displayed (Bullock 1996:52-56).

Yet the visual language of American Freemasonry has little in common with the motif on the enamels from the African Burial Ground. Craft symbols replicated on badges and medallions made during and after the 18th century are larded with realistic detail (see illustrations in Hamilton 1994:134-145 and Fales 1995:138-139). Small-sized items like

¹³ As of this writing, the encampment cuff links, pictured in black-and-white in Calver and Bolton (1950:225), have not been located in the collection of the New-York Historical Society.

enameled buttons show compasses with hinges and tapered legs, and square rules with discernable measuring lines (see Ertrell 1973:Plate 6 and Houart 1977:51).

Free men of color were unwelcome in the Masonic brotherhoods that formed in colonial American cities after 1730. Enslaved Africans like Caesar, Prince, and Cuffee were ineligible for membership. These men, African New Yorkers who financed their nighttime junketing by stealing goods, dubbed themselves "Free Masons" in 1736, "in imitation" of the members of Manhattan's Masonic society. Court Recorder Daniel Horsmanden did not mention whether the threesome speculated about universal wisdom and ethics when making the rounds of dram shops and tippling houses. He mentioned instead that their burlesque was "very ill accepted" among *bona fide* lodge brothers, learned gentlemen who met semi-secretly in expensive public taverns and favored a restrictive application of fraternal ideals (see Horsmanden 1744[1971:67, fn. Q]).

The first Masonic lodge for men of African descent, led by Boston artisan Prince Hall, received a charter in 1784 (Wallace 2000:183-184). The African Lodge of New York, Boyer Lodge no. 1, was established in Manhattan in February 1812, after the burial ground had closed (see Williamson 1929).

<u>Inventory</u>



Figure 13.18.
Ring, copper alloy, plain.
Burial 71, Catalog # 813-B.004
Convex outside and inside band surfaces. 1.5
cm inside diameter; whole (mended).
Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.19.
Ring, copper alloy, plain.
Burial 115, Catalog # 858-B.001
Convex outside and inside band surfaces. 1.8
cm inside diameter.
Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.20. Ring, copper alloy, plain "Burial 398" (redeposited fill soil), Catalog #2061-B.001 Convex inside and outside band surfaces. 2.1 cm inside diameter. Photograph by Jon Abbott.

Selected for replication.



Figure 13.21.
Ring, copper alloy with glass insets.
Burial 242, Catalog # 1229-B.001
Cast metal construction. Three faceted blue glass insets at each side. Colorless central glass inset is worn on face. The ring band and face were cast as one unit. Center inset is 0.6 cm diameter, blue-glass insets 0.3 cm. Ring portion was mineralized corrosion product.
Band diameter is not measurable. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.22.
Ring, copper alloy with glass insets.
Burial 310, Catalog # 1486-B.001
Cast metal construction. Three faceted blue glass insets at each side, one missing. Central glass inset missing. The ring band and face were cast as one unit. Blue glass insets are 0.3 cm diameter. Inside band diameter is 1.5 cm. Found during laboratory cleaning of skeletal remains. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.23.
Jewelry/ornament, copper alloy and glass Burial 186, Catalog # 987-B.001
Appears to be a hand-shaped glass disk (plate or flat bottle glass) that was set in a wire filigree frame or base. Disk approximately 1 cm diameter. Textile and textile impressions associated. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.24.
Pendant, silver.
Burial 254, Catalog # 1243-B.001
Cast silver. Upper portion has slightly twisted metal hoop 1.6 cm wide and 0.9 cm long attached to a sphere 0.9 cm in diameter. A jump ring is attached to the bottom of the sphere, from which hangs a pear-shaped dangle. Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.25.
Fragment of earring or pin, copper alloy
Burial 332, Catalog # 1608-B
Object curved or bent and attached to wood.
Recovered during cleaning of thoracic
vertebrae.
Inside diameter approximately 0.8 cm.
Photograph by Jon Abbott.



Figure 13.26.
Jewelry/possible cuff link or button face, enamel Burial 211, Catalog # 1186-B.001
Oval turquoise enamel face, originally on a copper-alloy backing. 1.4 cm x 1.1 cm.
Photograph by Jon Abbott.

Selected for replication.



Figure 13.27.
Enameled cuff link faces
Burial 371, Catalog # 1875-B.001
Enamel face on copper-alloy back. The faces are 1.4 cm x 1.1cm.
Background: turquoise; decorative motif: white and pink. Photograph by Jon Abbott.